

Samuel Adams.

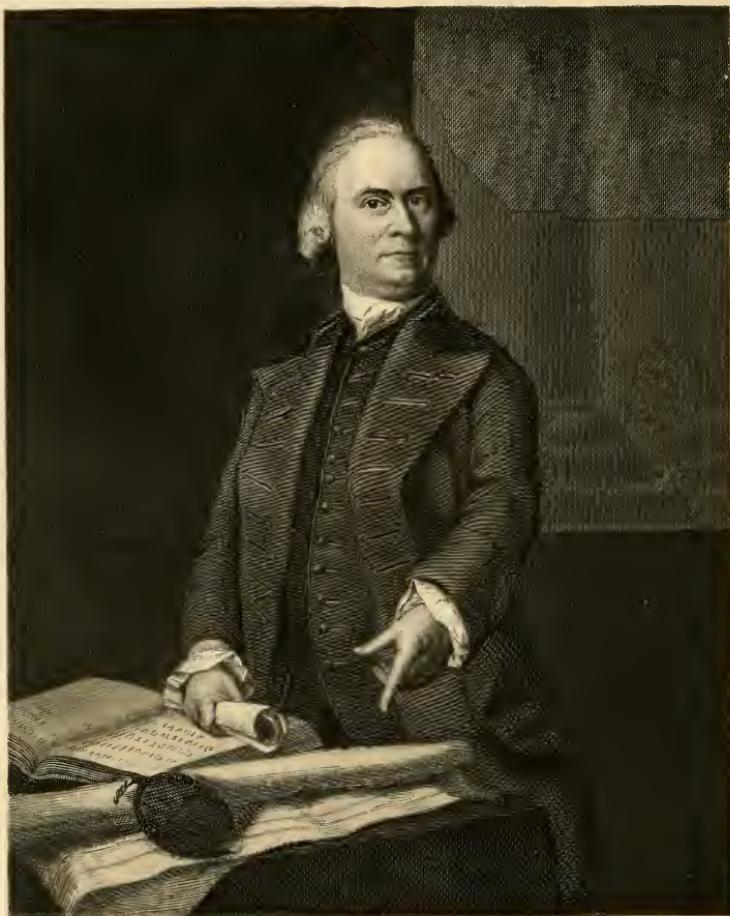
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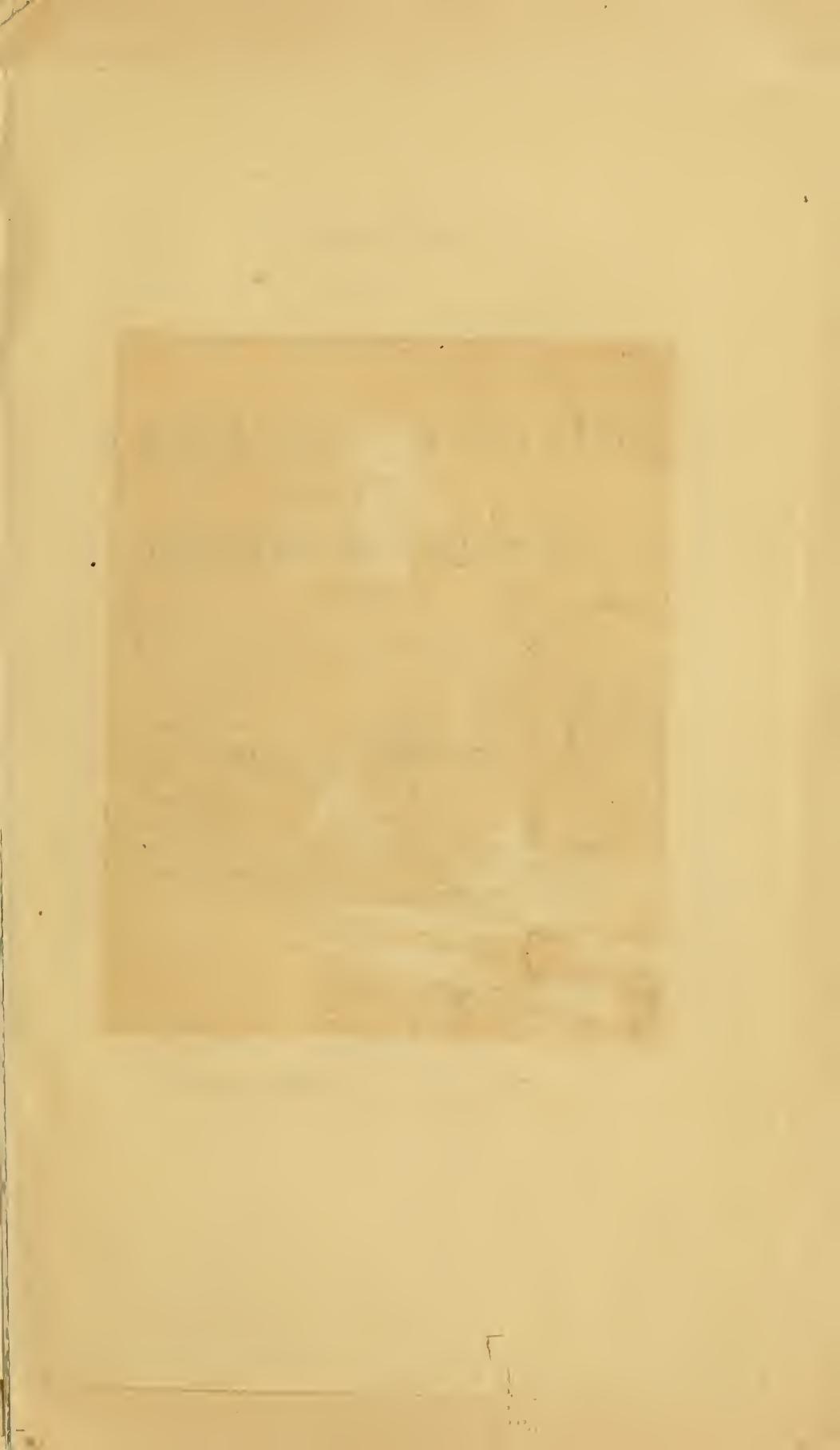
Samuel Adams

A.E. T. 45

Engr'd by H. B. Hall.

Samuel Adams

From the Original Painting in Faneuil Hall.





AN ADDRESS
ON THE
LIFE AND CHARACTER
OF
SAMUEL ADAMS
DELIVERED IN THE
OLD SOUTH CHURCH
BOSTON

SUNDAY, OCTOBER 26, 1884.

BY
EDWARD G. PORTER.

ON THE OCCASION OF THE ERECTION OF TABLETS IN THE
CHURCH, COMMEMORATIVE OF ITS LINE OF MINISTERS,
AND OF SAMUEL SEWALL AND SAMUEL ADAMS.

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BOSTON:
PRESS OF DAVID CLAPP & SON.
1885.

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INSCRIPTION ON THE ADAMS STATUE IN BOSTON.

SAMUEL ADAMS

1722-1803

A PATRIOT

HE ORGANIZED THE REVOLUTION

AND SIGNED THE

DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

—
GOVERNOR

A TRUE LEADER OF THE PEOPLE

—
A STATESMAN

INCORRUPTIBLE AND FEARLESS

—
ERECTED A.D. 1880

From a Fund bequeathed to the

City of Boston

by

JONATHAN PHILLIPS

S A M U E L A D A M S .

THIS Church may well be congratulated to-night upon its inheritance of a long roll of names worthy to be commemorated by successive generations. It is a high distinction, rarely given to any church, to have had, not only among its ministers, but in the ranks of its lay members, such illustrious personages as those to whom yonder tablets are now consecrated.

A new sentiment will hereafter invest this beautiful building, drawn not merely from the enlarged and generous accommodations recently made for worshippers, but also from the memories which will be awakened here by the presence of these silent reminders of a glorious past. We honor ourselves by keeping thus before us the men whose names and achievements have been so conspicuously associated with our common faith and our common freedom.

From whatever point of view we regard Samuel Adams, we find him worthy of grateful remembrance and distinguished honor; whether as a private citizen, exemplary in all the walks of life, or as a public servant, discharging faithfully the many trusts that were committed to his care; whether we consider his brilliant intellectual endowments, or the virtues and graces of his devout Christian life; whether we admire most the lofty, intrepid, sagacious spirit which was always prepared for any crisis, or that equally characteristic and uncommon trait which led him to yield to others the re-

wards justly due to himself; whether we regard him as "the man of the town-meeting," or representative in the Assembly, or member of the Continental Congress, we see him in each and all of these positions exhibiting surprising ability, vast resources and incorruptible integrity. So many indeed are his claims to consideration in American history that the more our scholars have studied his life the more do they find themselves disposed to award him the highest praise both for what he was and for what he did. The real strength of such a character is seen in the clear, sharp lines in which he has impressed himself upon his generation and upon his country. Not one of his famous contemporaries has been honored with so many significant and distinguishing titles as he. In all our minds his name is associated with one or more of these familiar *soubriquets*: the Father of the Revolution; the American Cato; the Chief Incendiary; Tribune of the People; *Instar omnium*; the Cromwell of New England; the Last of the Puritans. It matters not whether these appellations originated among his friends or his enemies; they all express the strongly-marked personal supremacy of the man.

If it be asked why so great a man as Samuel Adams has waited almost a century for any suitable recognition at the hands of his countrymen, the answer is ready. We have neglected nearly all our ancient worthies until recently, giving them a very inadequate place both in literature and in art. We have tolerated rather than appreciated them in our history, assigning them any such accidental place as favor or prejudice might suggest. It may also be said that in most cases our fathers themselves failed to teach us the importance of historic memorials. They were generally busy men, absorbed in the work given them to do, and they had little thought for the record that would have to follow. And we too have been so occupied in the work of our own day that we have been sadly indifferent to the lessons which a faithful study of the past might have taught us.

But, happily, we have entered upon a new era in such matters. We have caught at last the inspiration which he-

roism and virtue ought to awaken in every patriotic heart. Already there are three statues of Samuel Adams in our country: one at Lexington erected ten years ago, another in the Capitol at Washington, and the third a conspicuous ornament of our own city since 1880. To these we now gratefully add the tablet which has been most appropriately placed on the walls of this sanctuary.

The Adams family have already an honored place upon the records of this church. Samuel the patriot was a member of it during the last fourteen years of his life. His parents and grandparents worshipped in its communion, and his mother was baptized and married by its ministers.

The church of God is designed to be the foster-mother of its children. It fulfils its functions only when it nourishes and develops the best types of manhood. It is allowed certain privileges, under our laws, from the conviction which the American people have had from the beginning, that it is the best supporter of the civil power and the surest guarantee of a pure and intelligent patriotism which the state possesses. And this claim for the church has been abundantly established in the history of New England, not only in the substance of its teaching, but in the men whom it has taught. It is an inevitable deduction of logic that such men as Samuel Adams are the visible product of the New England church. Nothing else could have made them what they were. They were born and nurtured, trained and moulded under its powerful and penetrating influence. No one questions that the strong theology and the republican government of these churches, under an enlightened ministry, created the sturdy and independent patriots who laid broad and deep the foundations of our liberties. The doctrine of human rights, which became so popular in the colonies, was really formulated and at last legalized by those who, under the prevailing system of religious teaching, had reasoned it out of the Sacred Scriptures as God's assured gift to man. It was certainly a growth, but a growth under the favorable conditions of a democratic church which was the first in the history of the world to edu-

cate all its people in the principles of civil and religious liberty.

We cannot disconnect this Puritan patriot from the earlier age out of which he sprang, and for which he ever cherished sentiments of the deepest reverence. Born in 1722, eight years before the death of Judge Sewall, and within a century of the settlement of Boston, he was near enough to the original founders of the colony to partake of their spirit and to carry on their work. His father, Samuel Adams, Senior, was the son of Captain John Adams, a descendant of that Henry Adams of Braintree, from whom came also the distinguished branch of the family which has always remained near the early homestead in what is now the town of Quincy.

Undoubtedly the subject of this sketch received his early bias in the direction of politics from his father, who was actively engaged in public affairs,¹ and who in 1724 was one of the founders of the famous Caulkers' Club, a political organization from which our word *caucus* is supposed to have been derived. That he was also prominent in ecclesiastical matters is shown by his being one of the organizers, and, later on, one of the deacons of the New South Church in Summer Street,² of which, in 1719, his relative Samuel Checkley became the first pastor.

Mrs. Adams³ was a woman of deep religious principle, a true helpmeet to her husband, and faithful in her efforts to bring up her children in the fear of God and the practice of virtue. It is due to these parents to say that the healthful influences which they created in their home went far to produce that devout turn of mind which was always a prevailing trait in their distinguished son.

¹ He was a justice of the peace, a selectman of the town, and a representative in the Assembly. In his business as a brewer he accumulated considerable property.

² This enterprise was undertaken by Mr. Adams and thirteen others in 1715, for the purpose of having a place of worship nearer their homes. The new site would be very accessible to Purchase Street, where the Adams family then lived. It has been generally stat-

ed that Mr. Adams was a deacon of the Old South Church. As this is not proved by the records, it is probably a mistake arising from the fact that he was chosen deacon of the New South (in July, 1726, with Mr. Daniel Loring), and as he had previously been a member of the Old South (from 1706 to 1715) it was a natural inference that he had also held the office of deacon there.
³ Mary, daughter of Richard Fifield of Boston.

Their house¹ in Purchase Street was a spacious and comfortable dwelling surrounded by a garden and commanding a fine view of the harbor. Here Samuel the patriot was born, being the second son in a family of twelve children. He was baptized on the day of his birth, Sunday, April 16, 1722. His early education was obtained at the public schools, and he was fitted for college under the elder Lovell. At the age of fourteen he was admitted to Harvard, where he made for himself an excellent record, acquiring such a familiarity with the classics that he was able through life to quote from them readily in his writings with much effect. He was also a diligent reader of the standard authors in philosophy, divinity and political science. The names of the students at that day were not arranged as now alphabetically, nor on the basis of scholarship, but according to the social standing of their families. This must have been a delicate matter for the authorities to arrange, but the custom was adhered to for thirty years after this. In the class of 1740, numbering twenty-two members, Samuel Adams ranked as fifth, while Samuel Langdon, afterwards the president of the college, was the eighteenth. It is interesting to notice that the first name in the list was that of Thomas Prince (died in 1748), son of the eminent pastor of this church. At one time Adams had looked forward to the ministry as his profession, encouraged by his parents and by the inclination of his own mind. He was deeply interested in the great religious awakening which had followed the preaching of Edwards and Whitefield, and under ordinary circumstances he would doubtless have continued his theological studies, but the political excitements of the time led him to think of the law as the field in which his duty might lie, and toward which his ardent nature was strongly inclined. But his father's pecuniary embarrassments² just at this time compelled

¹ Built by Mr. Adams about 1712; taken by the British troops during their occupation of Boston; not occupied by the family afterwards; sold to Philip Wentworth in 1802.

² In connection with the "Land Bank Scheme," or "Manufactury Company," as it was sometimes called,

a joint-stock association organized by some of the leading men of Boston to relieve the distress occasioned by the depreciated currency and general decline of public credit. The scheme failed through the violent opposition of the Government which enforced an act against the existence of such companies.

him to turn his attention to mercantile business, for which he had no aptitude. His experience, however, was of value in strengthening his purpose to engage in public affairs as soon as the opportunity offered. On taking his Master's degree at Cambridge in 1743, at the early age of twenty-one, he chose for his thesis a subject which clearly indicated the arena upon which he would like to contend: "Whether it be lawful to resist the supreme magistrate if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved." Boldly maintaining the affirmative, he laid down propositions which gave the key-note to his whole life. The contests which even at that early day were coming on between the Crown officers and the representatives of the people seemed to challenge his energies, and he was soon found organizing a political club and editing a newspaper. Both as a speaker and a writer young Adams engaged warmly in the discussion of public questions, and was soon recognized as a leader of no ordinary power. Many of his essays were directed against the administration of Shirley, whose civil and military measures he stoutly opposed as tending to subvert the "rights and liberties" of the colonists.

We are not surprised to learn that the business affairs of one so wholly given to polities would necessarily suffer. For a short time he was in the counting-room of Thomas Cushing.¹ Then he engaged in business for himself on a moderate capital furnished by his father. Failing in that he was reduced to very narrow circumstances. Soon after, his father died, leaving to him as the oldest son the care of the family and the settlement of the estate. The following year (October 17, 1749) he married Elizabeth, daughter of the Rev. Samuel Checkley, a woman of rare excellence, with whom he lived but eight years, when she died, leaving two children.² A tender tribute to her is found in the family Bible,³ written

¹ Father of the patriot of the same name.

² Samuel, afterwards a surgeon in the war, who died unmarried; and Hannah, who married Capt. Thomas Wells of the Continental Army.

³ This Bible, which had belonged to

the patriot's father, is a rare edition and contains interesting family records both by the father and the son. It afterwards became the property of Samuel G. Drake, and is now in the Livermore Collection at Cambridge. See N. Eng. Hist. and Geneal. Reg., vol. viii. p. 283.

on the day of her death: "To her husband she was as sincere a friend as she was a faithful wife. Her exact economy in all her relative capacities, her kindred on his side as well as her own admire. She ran her christian race with remarkable steadiness, and finished in triumph! She left two small children. God grant they may inherit her graces."

Seven years later (December 6, 1763, the Rev. Mr. Checkley officiating) Mr. Adams married for his second wife, Elizabeth, daughter of Francis Wells, an English merchant who had settled in Boston many years before. This union proved to be long and happy. Mrs. Adams possessed many accomplishments, not the least of which was her ability to make her home always attractive, even under privations such as are not often encountered by one in her position. Her prudence and thrift, combined with her strength of character and earnest piety, eminently fitted her to be the companion of a man whose life was largely engrossed in public affairs. Amid all the trials and vexations of political strife, he never failed to find in his home that repose and refreshment which he so much needed. He was a man of the finest sensibilities, able to appreciate the virtues and sacrifices of his wife, and ever ready to bestow upon her that affection and sympathy which belonged to his generous nature. The brief descriptions of their family life furnish us with an interesting picture of the domestic simplicity and order of a well-regulated Puritan home in the last century. It is a picture of contentment without riches, cheerfulness without hilarity, refinement without pride, and religion without hypocrisy. Friends were always welcome, and generously entertained, though hospitality on a large scale was impossible. Meetings of the Club¹ and of various committees were often held here, and occasionally persons of distinction from other places were invited. Books were not as numerous then as now, but such as they had were well selected and carefully read. Household worship, grace at meals, and the singing of psalms, were a daily exercise in

¹ The Caucus Club often met also at the opposite house of Thomas Dawes, who in 1763 was adjutant of the Boston Regiment.

which the family united. Mr. Adams was always fond of singing, and at one time was a member and a leader of the choir at church.¹ His two children were his special delight. He had a keen relish for their sports, and always enjoyed their company, directing their education in all its details, and giving them the benefit of his valuable counsel.

While the whole life of Samuel Adams, from the time of his leaving College to the end of his long career, was largely given to the public service, and while his name is associated with almost every great event during that period, his highest title to distinction, and the one that will be longest remembered, is the part he took in the great movement which led to the Revolution. To him more than to any other man must be assigned the honor of seeing the issue, initiating the measures and guiding the deliberations of that movement. Others there were who had a prominent part in it, men of great ability and the purest patriotism, to whom the country will always feel indebted; but of these, some, like Otis and Thacher and Joseph Warren, were removed from the scene before the work was done, while others like John Adams and the younger patriots, came to the front only in the later stages of the conflict. Nor is it any disparagement to men like Bowdoin and Hancock and Cushing and Hawley, to say that they were all led, in council as in action, by a commanding genius whose wisdom they clearly discerned and whose spirit they all admired.

This preëminent claim, which in the light of all the facts must be made for Samuel Adams, is amply supported by documents and can no longer be open to a doubt.

He organized the American Revolution. That is honor enough for any man to bear in history. Upon that I am willing that his fame should rest.

Many things conspired to prepare him for this task. His intense love of liberty he inherited from his father. His op-

¹ Stated in a MS. paper by James S. Loring, read before the New England Historic Genealogical Society in 1856. Also in a sermon upon Samuel Adams by the Rev. J. M. Manning D.D., delivered at the Old South in December, 1873.

position to the arbitrary measures of the Government became fixed in early life, when he keenly felt the injustice of a policy which had crippled his own family and caused wide-spread discontent. His skill in handling political questions was partly the result of his studies in law, and partly owing to the excellent apprenticeship which he allowed himself in the broad forum of discussion. His knowledge of men was widely extended by his unwelcome experience as tax collector.¹ His moral courage was the natural growth of his deep-seated religious conviction. His idea of independence was born of his faith. He saw it with a prophet's eye and hailed it afar.

With such an equipment of mind and conscience, of energy and faith, this ardent youth came upon the scene just in time to guide the popular cause in its infancy when it was threatened on all sides with the gravest perils. The sky was overcast with clouds, and the mutterings of thunder were heard all along the horizon. A storm was coming; that was evident; but where it would break and what it would bring, no one knew. The prudent and the timid kept themselves under cover, and were silent. The few who dared to think of navigating their frail bark in such angry waters clung together and kept a sharp lookout, waiting for events. Then it was that our patriot-hero came forward and took the helm with a fearless hand, and held it firmly till the storm was over. Little do we care now for the charges that he neglected his business to engage in politics, that he never would be thrifty because he spent his time in writing inflammatory articles for the newspapers, hanging about ship-yards and organizing political clubs. Of what interest to us now are the ledger-books in Cushing's counting-room, or the Malt-house in Purchase Street, or the delinquent tax list of 1763? We can afford to lose a poor merchant to gain a "masterly statesman." We can bear with perfect equanimity such derisive epithets as "Sam the Maltster," and "Samuel the Publican." The satirists may make sport of him, the tories

¹ 1763-65. A difficult and most unpopular service in such hard times, but turned to good account in this case, notwithstanding the odium it excited.

may denounce him, and even the whigs may for a time refuse him their support. It matters not. His soul is bent on liberty, and nothing else will silence either his tongue or his pen. He hears the voice of his country beckoning him on, and he springs to her aid with an ardor and a heroism that have never been surpassed.

It was at a memorable town-meeting in Faneuil Hall in the year 1764, when Adams, at the age of forty-two, was appointed on a committee to draft instructions for the newly-chosen representatives to the General Court.¹ Intelligence had just been received from England of a design to tax the colonies and place the revenue at the disposal of Parliament. The town was thoroughly aroused by this report, and the feeling found expression in the unmistakable language of the instructions—still preserved in Adams's handwriting—which contained the first public denial of parliamentary supremacy, and the first suggestion ever made of a union of the colonies for self-protection. This was a year before the remonstrance of Patrick Henry in Virginia, and it must ever be regarded as the earliest foreshadowing of the policy which afterwards prevailed throughout the country.

The following year, Adams was sent to the Legislature, where he remained for ten years, being annually reëlected during the most exciting and eventful period in the history of Massachusetts. Nearly all this time he was clerk of the House, a position which gave him full opportunity for the exercise of his unrivalled gifts in the preparation of state papers, addresses, protests, and other documents, while at the same time he conducted an enormous correspondence both public and private. These writings will bear the closest scrutiny. They are, indeed, master-pieces of political discussion. The more they have been studied, the greater has been the admiration which they have awakened for their profound wisdom, their logical method and their bold yet constitutional demands. They are remarkable not so much

¹ The Boston representatives that year were Otis, Thacher, Cushing and Gray. Richard Dana was on the committee with Adams to prepare the instructions.

for their rhetorical style as for their simple and direct statements of the inalienable rights of the people. They succeed in so putting the case as to keep the law on their side, while exposing the injustice and danger of the Government's position. They contain the most advanced principles of the age, brought within the comprehension of the plainest citizen. They all have one clear, melodious ring, that of liberty, Heaven's gift, Britain's pledge, America's lawful inheritance.

Conspicuous among these papers are the "Massachusetts Resolves," in reply to Governor Bernard; the famous "Circular Letter," addressed to all the Provincial Assemblies; the "True Sentiments of America," a communication sent to the Massachusetts agent in London and intended for the ministry; "An Appeal to the World," an eloquent paper printed by order of the town, vindicating the patriot cause from the aspersions of its enemies; and the "Rights of the Colonists, as Men, as Christians and as Subjects," the first statement of principles made by the renowned Committee of Correspondence, and, in fact, the precursor of the Declaration of Independence.

And not only was Adams a leader with his pen. He was ever ready with his voice, often advocating in debate the measures which he had framed so skilfully at his desk. He was also most efficient in the organization of committees, selecting the right men for the right place, continually attending caucuses and popular gatherings, encouraging the timid, arousing the indifferent and attaching firmly to the cause many who, but for him, would have been found in the ranks of the enemy. John Adams is authority¹ for saying that his illustrious kinsman during those years was in the habit of watching for young men of promise in order to gain their friendship, warn them against the hostile designs of England, and secure them in the defence of their country. He enumerates, among these, John Hancock, Dr. Warren and Josiah Quincy. By the same influence, John Adams was himself first brought promi-

¹ Correspondence, X. 364.

nently into notice at a town-meeting in 1765, when his cousin, as chairman, had him appointed to speak for the town before the Governor and Council.¹ The next year, Hancock was indebted for his seat in the Legislature to the nomination made in his favor by Samuel Adams, who was fifteen years his senior. Hancock had failed of an election previously, and, on this occasion, Mr. John Rowe, an influential merchant of Boston,² had been proposed for the position, when Adams, turning his eyes towards Hancock's house, said, knowingly, "Is there not another John that may do better?"³ The hint was taken, and a valuable supporter was gained with all his wealth and subsequent popularity.

This rare ability to detect talent and bring it into public service was one of the marked traits of the great organizer; and it gave him increasing influence among the people who were not slow to discern the purity of his motives, when they saw the unselfish nature of the man who, though the prime mover in the cause, was always yielding the precedence to others, and willing to give away the honors which belonged to himself. No doubt he enjoyed the ascendancy which he obtained in the provincial councils and in the popular heart, but he never abused it for political favor or private gain. The confidence reposed in him was a magnificent tribute both to his intellectual power and his moral worth. Men followed him because they saw that he was fitted to lead; they looked up to him because they felt that he was above them; they trusted him because they knew that their interests were safe in the hands of one whose whole life was known to be governed by a sense of duty both to God and man.

When Hutchinson called Samuel Adams "Master of the Puppets,"⁴ he showed that he understood whom he was contending with, however uncomplimentary the name which he gave to the other patriots. There was no doubt in any quarter who the master spirit of this great movement was. It

¹ Wells's Life of S. Adams, I. 33 n.

² See Mem. Hist. Boston, Vol. II.

³ Gordon's Hist. Amer. War, I. 154.

⁴ Quoted by J. K. Hosmer from MS

letter of July 10, 1773, in Massachusetts

Archives.

was as well known in England as in Boston ; and efforts were repeatedly made to silence his opposition. Plans of seizure and transportation for trial were talked of ; offers were made to his friends to persuade them to withdraw from his leadership ; and in view of his well-known poverty, the inquiry came to Hutchinson from Government circles abroad, "Why hath not Mr. Adams been taken off from his opposition by an office?" To this the Governor replied in language which, in this case at least, shows the correctness of his judgment, "Such is the obstinacy and inflexible disposition of the man, that he never would be conciliated by any office or gift whatever."¹

A little later, when Gage was governor, he sent a confidential message to Adams by Colonel Fenton, to propose an adjustment of the difficulties between them. The Colonel stated that he was empowered to confer upon Adams such benefits as would be satisfactory, upon the condition that he would cease opposing the administration, and that it was the advice of the Governor not to incur the displeasure of his Majesty by rendering himself liable to the penalties of an act of Henry VIII., while, by changing his course, he would not only receive great personal advantages, but would thereby make his peace with the King. Adams arose and replied, "Sir, I trust I have long since made my peace with the King of Kings. No personal consideration shall induce me to abandon the righteous cause of my country. Tell Governor Gage it is the advice of Samuel Adams to him, no longer to insult the feelings of an exasperated people."²

It must ever be to Americans an occasion of pride that their liberties were achieved by men who, brave as they were in resisting oppression by force of arms, showed equal courage in refusing all offers to surrender their cause for any considerations of emolument or position. "Incorruptible," is a name which Samuel Adams has left to his country, blazoned in letters of fire upon our early history. Let it be held up to

¹ See Thacher's sermon at Dedham, Statement made by Samuel Dexter, Oct. 9, 1803. Given by Wells, III. 394. ² Wells, II. 193.

the gaze of men to-day, that our politicians may see it, that our statesmen may study its meaning, and that our people may write it out again large and clear in their own lives, and so be worthy of their freedom.

“God give us men! A time like this demands
 Strong minds, great hearts, true faith, and ready hands;
 Men whom the lust of office does not kill;
 Men whom the spoils of office cannot buy;
 Men who possess opinions and a will;
 Men who have honor,—men who will not lie;
 * * * * *
 Tall men, sun-crowned, who live above the fog
 In public duty and in private thinking.”

The habit of calm and deep reflection, which was a well known characteristic of Mr. Adams, led him at a very early day to anticipate the possibility of a rupture of the tie which held the colonies to the mother-country. His thorough discussion of the questions at issue, and his interpretation of the purposes of Great Britain, convinced him that, in certain contingencies, an effort for political independence would necessarily be the result of the controversy. It was the part of a statesman to contemplate those contingencies, and, in his own mind at least, to provide for their appearance. Men had speculated upon the subject in Europe as well as here; and the occasional disputes between the government officers and the colonists had for a long time tended to weaken the respect of the people of New England for the Government as it was then administered. But their devotion to the sovereign remained firm. Their affection for the old country was not seriously shaken. They sometimes blustered, as good subjects of the Queen do in England to-day, but it was always, and only, to maintain their rights as British subjects. It would not have been strange, indeed, if in defending their cause as they often did under provocation, they should have sometimes threatened separation; but this does not appear to have been done until the existing troubles had reached a crisis. Hutchinson¹ says

¹ Hist. Mass. Bay, III. 134.

that Adams advocated the doctrine of independence in private, and "made advances towards it in public," as early as 1765, but there is no evidence of this in his papers; on the contrary, they all at that period show feelings of decided loyalty. Writing to the provincial agent at London, in December of the same year, with reference to the report that the colonists were struggling for independence, he says: "It is neither their interest, nor have they ever shown the least disposition to be independent of Great Britain. They have always prided themselves on being British subjects, and have with the greatest cheerfulness done everything in their power to promote the common cause of the nation. And we have reason to believe that the colonists will ever remain firmly attached to the mother country." And again (in May, 1768) he writes: "I pray God that harmony may be cultivated between Great Britain and the colonies, and that they may long flourish in one undivided empire."

These are the sentiments of an honest man, who, though he spoke for the assembly, doubtless believed what he said. And yet it is easy to see how some of his utterances on this subject may have given a wrong impression. Thus in a letter of about the same date, he says there is no apprehension of anything like a struggle for independence, "and," he adds, "I dare say there never will be, unless Great Britain shall exert her power to destroy their liberties."¹ This last clause is no doubt a key to his opinions at this time. He was not in favor of independence, did not advocate it, and did not intend to, *unless it should become necessary*. That there was a possibility of this, he was far-seeing enough to imagine; and for a long time we know that his mind was deeply exercised upon it. All the excitement connected with the Stamp Act must have weighed in this direction; and although its repeal was hailed with joy, it was soon seen that the parliamentary reservation accompanying it had left the principle at stake untouched. This could not be forgotten, especially when followed so soon by the Townshend revenue acts, the

¹ Wells, I. 146.

impressm^cnt of seamen, the seizure of Hancock's sloop, and the quartering of a large force of royal troops on the province. All this served only to widen the breach and compel a patriot like Adams, ever solicitous for the public welfare, to take the position which at last by the events of 1768 he was driven to take. To his mind, there was no alternative but abject submission, and that, he well knew, the colonists would never accept. All the authorities agree that he was the first man in America to believe in a separation, and boldly to declare for it. "The approach of military rule," says Bancroft,¹ "convinced Samuel Adams of the necessity of American Independence. From this moment he struggled for it deliberately and unremittingly, as became one who delighted in the stern creed of Calvin, which, wherever it has prevailed, in Geneva, Holland, Scotland, Puritan England, New England, has spread intelligence, severity of morals, love of freedom and courage. . . . Henceforward one high service absorbed his soul—the independence of his country."

For a long time he stood almost alone in maintaining this position. The other patriots clung to the hope that some adjustment of the difficulties could be found. At a town-meeting in 1769, objection was made to a certain motion because it implied that the colonists were independent of parliament, whereupon Mr. Adams with characteristic boldness replied, "Independent we are and independent we will be."¹ This was more than any one else dared to say, but the very utterance of it in a public meeting helped to formulate the new doctrine, in the minds of many, and to prepare the way for its more general acceptance.

Meanwhile the logic of events was rapidly furnishing arguments which carried conviction where words might have failed. The presence of a standing army in the peaceful town of Boston, with a powerful fleet guarding the harbor, was a perpetual annoyance to the citizens who were obliged to witness parades and to answer the challenge of sentinels posted at the public buildings and at officers' quarters. The

¹ Hist. U. S., VI. 192.

¹ Hutchinson's Hist., III. 264.

common was made a camping ground for soldiers, and used for horse-racing. Cannon were planted in King Street in front of the town-house as if to overawe the representatives assembled in the General Court. The Puritan Sabbath was violated by the tread of armed men changing guard, with the noisy drum and fife playing "Nancy Dawson" and "Yankee Doodle," as the people were going to their places of worship.

Petitions from the town and the assembly for the removal of the troops being ineffectual, the latter body declined to legislate in the presence of an armed force, and were accordingly adjourned to Cambridge by Governor Bernard, who, adding insult to injury, soon after demanded an appropriation to cover the expenses of quartering the troops. Upon the refusal of this demand, he prorogued the court and sailed for England, threatening to lay their conduct before the King. This was the Governor who said of Samuel Adams, whom he found a perpetual thorn in his side, "Every dip of his pen stings like a horned snake."

Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson, a much abler man, now assumed the reins of government. He had filled nearly all the important offices in the Province, and was by far the most conspicuous man on the tory side. In ordinary times he would have made a brilliant record as the chief executive, but in this great emergency he tried to do what could not be done, and was doomed to failure, after incurring the severest criticism and odium of his countrymen.¹

It was with the greatest difficulty that the patriot leaders in Boston restrained the inhabitants from coming into collision with the troops. At times the Sons of Liberty were aroused to a high pitch of excitement, issuing placards, and holding themselves in readiness to make a demonstration. The newspapers were continually asking what the regiments were there

¹ The recent publication of Hutchinson's Diary and Letters sheds a more favorable light upon his character, and will serve to correct in a measure the harsh verdict which the party feeling and inevitable bitterness of his contemporaries had rendered against him. His history of the Province has always been regarded as of the highest authority.

See article by the Rev. George E. Ellis, D.D., *Atlantic Monthly*, May, 1884.

for, and why they were retained so long. Sharp words often passed between the soldiers and the populace on the streets. But the wise caution of the leaders prevailed, and the people generally were governed by that self-respect and love of order which have always characterized our citizens. Their demand was loud and determined, but not violent. Samuel Adams expressed the common feeling when he said that the troops seemed to be employed only "to parade the streets of Boston, and, by their ridiculous merry-andrew tricks, to become the object of contempt of the women and children." "They must move to the Castle," he said. "It must be the first business of the General Court to move them out of town." And Dr. Cooper urged the same, adding, "They greatly corrupt our morals, and are in every sense an oppression. May Heaven soon deliver us from this great evil."

At last, after seventeen months of military rule, the dreaded collision occurred in King street, under the windows of the town-house, on the memorable fifth of March, 1770. Blood was shed by soldiers of the 29th Regiment firing upon unarmed citizens. This event, known as the Boston Massacre, produced the greatest possible consternation. The news of it flew, like wild fire, and the cry was everywhere, "To arms!" Late in the evening, order was restored by the Lieutenant Governor, who appeared upon the scene, and in obedience to the demands of his indignant townsmen, secured the retirement of the troops to their barracks, and promised an immediate court of inquiry.

The next morning a crowded mass meeting was held in Faneuil Hall, opened with prayer by Dr. Cooper. After reports had been given by various eye-witnesses of the tragedy, the meeting was addressed by Samuel Adams, who spoke with great solemnity and pathos, moving all hearts by his resolute and impressive manner. He was then appointed on a committee of fifteen to wait upon the Lieutenant Governor and inform him that it was the unanimous voice of the meeting that nothing could restore peace but the immediate removal of the troops. A town-meeting was then officially

notified to be held at the same place at three o'clock in the afternoon.

Hutchinson received the committee and listened to their communication, but as he was not then prepared to give a reply, they withdrew to allow him time to consult the Council, then in session, and also Colonel Dalrymple the commanding officer. The result, which was given to the committee in writing, was that the 29th Regiment, which had been particularly concerned in the disturbances, would be sent to the Castle, and only the 14th retained in town.

At the appointed hour, Faneuil Hall was again filled to overflowing, and so large was the number unable to gain admission that the meeting was adjourned to the Old South—"Dr. Sewall's meeting-house," as it was commonly called.¹ We can readily follow the stream of people wending its way by the old State-house to the new rendezvous. It is not a tumultuous mob, flaunting banners and filling the air with derisive shouts, but a throng of intelligent and serious-minded men, charged with a sacred duty, "men who pray over what they do," and act as those who must give account. Such men are not to be resisted, much less can they be trifled with. The hour is a momentous one in their history, for which the way has long been preparing. The excitement of the previous night has led to a deep-seated resolve in every breast, that the cause of such an event must now be removed. They are conscious of possessing the right, and, if need be, the power to enforce this demand.

The Old South was soon filled to its utmost capacity, and a vast concourse of people, many of them from the surrounding towns, stood in the streets, eagerly waiting for the result. Presently the word passed along, "Make way for the Committee!" and the crowd willingly fell back to allow the delegation of fifteen to pass from the town-house on their way to report to the meeting. No one knew what their answer

¹ Dr. Joseph Sewall, son of Chief-Justice Sewall, had died the previous year after a pastorate of fifty-six years, during which he had been assisted by

four colleagues. The Old South Meeting-house, with its spacious galleries, could hold a much larger audience than the Faneuil Hall of that day.

would be, but it was soon surmised when Samuel Adams, leading the way with uncovered head, bowed to his friends on either side and said, in a calm and determined tone, "Both Regiments or none!" The multitude caught the meaning, and took up the watchword which exactly expressed their feeling, "Both Regiments or none!"

Adams read the answer to the meeting and pronounced it insufficient. The moderator, Thomas Cushing, then put the question, "Is this satisfactory?" and instantly from three thousand voices came one prolonged, defiant "No!" like the roar of thunder, loud enough to shake the roof. Yet so orderly was the meeting that the usual opportunity was given for any person of a different mind to speak. and the town-clerk, William Cooper, faithfully records that there was "one dissentient." A committee of seven¹ was then chosen to inform the Lieutenant Governor of the town's unalterable decision.

Let us go with this committee to the council chamber and observe the proceedings at their memorable interview. Doubtless there is no single occasion in the whole history of Boston which can equal this in the dignity of the persons assembled, in the gravity of the question at issue and in the dramatic coloring with which it has been invested in the authentic accounts which have come down to us. The chamber was of the same size and general appearance then as now. Its walls were adorned with full-length portraits of Charles II. and James II., together with smaller portraits of Winthrop, Bradstreet, Endicott and Belcher. The Lieutenant Governor sat at the end of a long table around which were grouped the Councillors of the Province, twenty-eight in number, with the highest officers of the Army and Navy on the station; all clad in the rich and variegated dress of the time, according to rank. We can imagine the scarlet coats, gold and silver lace, elaborate ruffles, white wigs and brilliant uniforms. Nor can we forget the approaching twilight and the waiting

¹ Samuel Adams, John Hancock, Joseph Warren, Joshua Henshaw and William Molineux, William Phillips, Samuel Pemberton.

throng without, which must have added a weird significance to the scene.

Before this imposing tribunal stood Samuel Adams at the head of his committee, announcing the vote of the town and stating that nothing would satisfy them but the prompt removal of all the troops. "The troops are not subject to my authority," replied Hutchinson, "I have no power to remove them." The patriot was not to be dismayed by this evasive answer. He had evidently anticipated it; and now, drawing strength from the energies of his soul, he took a firm position, and while all eyes were fastened upon him, he gazed at his antagonist for a moment, and then, with measured words and impressive gesture, he calmly replied: "If you have power to remove *one* regiment, you have power to remove *both*. It is at your peril if you do not. The meeting is composed of three thousand people. They are become very impatient. A thousand men are already arrived from the neighborhood, and the country is in general motion. On you alone rests the responsibility of the decision; and if the just expectations of the people are disappointed you must be answerable to God and your country for the fatal consequences that must ensue. The committee have discharged their duty, and it is for you to discharge yours. Night is approaching. An immediate answer is expected."¹¹

Such was the ultimatum which Samuel Adams, in the name of the people, laid down in that council chamber. Its effect upon Hutchinson is narrated by Adams himself in a subsequent letter to a friend, in which he says: "I observed his knees to tremble; I thought I saw his face grow pale; and I enjoyed the sight."

One can hardly read this account without being reminded of some of the great interviews in history, such as Paul before Felix, Luther at Worms, or John Knox before Mary Stuart. The scene will some day find an artist who, grasping its meaning and using its ample resources, will give to America

¹¹ Bancroft, VI. 344. Frothingham's Warren, 145. Wells, I. 322.

a canvas which will worthily portray the "Father of the Revolution" in the moment of his greatest triumph. Copley's famous portrait of Adams, painted for Hancock, and now hanging in Faneuil Hall, represents the patriot standing before Hutchinson on this occasion, holding in one hand the message from his exasperated townsmen, and with the other pointing to the charter of their liberties lying upon the table. The attitude is bold and dignified, the face lofty and resolute, and the one inflexible purpose of the speaker dominant over all.

The sculptor's art has also, in our own time, done excellent justice to the inspiring theme. The noble statue in marble, by Miss Whitney, presented a few years ago by the State of Massachusetts to the Nation's hall of worthies at the Capitol, fitly commemorates the heroic spirit of the man who wrung from arbitrary power this notable concession to the demands of the people. A bronze statue of Adams, from the same model with slight changes, now occupies a prominent place in our city, midway between the ancient halls which so often echoed to the sound of his voice. He has finished speaking and is standing erect with folded arms and compressed lips, calmly awaiting the answer of the Lieutenant Governor.

That answer came at last, and the pledge was given that the will of the town should be obeyed. The committee made their report; the people quietly dispersed; and the troops—henceforth to be known as "The Sam Adams Regiments"—were sent to the Castle.

Notwithstanding the great relief which this decision gave to the town, Adams allowed himself no respite. Others dismissed the matter and went about their ordinary affairs, thinking that all trouble was now over, but he redoubled his energies and worked incessantly in private and in public, organizing new measures, writing for the *Gazette*, and drafting resolutions, protests and letters of instruction for the Assembly. He was the most active political writer in the Province, the chief adviser in the caucus, and the very soul

of the town-meeting. Indeed from all accounts it seems as if nothing was done without him. The annual celebrations of the Boston massacre, which became so popular, were largely of his planning. Modestly keeping himself in the back-ground as far as possible, he was always putting able and trustworthy patriots before the people as orators, moderators, and committees. He advocated with great zeal the "non-importation agreement," and the union of towns and colonies in the support of all matters of common interest, especially in connection with his masterly scheme of the "Committees of Correspondence," until at length his voice was heard for a Continental Congress.

This was in the summer of 1773, when the news of the tea tax aroused a universal spirit of resistance. It was known to be an insidious measure skilfully contrived to collect a duty without apparent cost to the purchaser, the tribute being nominally paid by the East India Company in London. But it was only another test case, involving a recognition of the supremacy of Parliament, and everyone understood it. "Are the Americans such blockheads," said some one in New York, "as to care whether it be a hot red poker or a red hot poker which they are to swallow, provided Lord North forces them to swallow one of the two?" The whole country was in a blaze about this, and nothing that England could have done would have served to unite the colonies more thoroughly. Adams saw it, and immediately appealed through the press, and by the circulars of his committee, "for a Congress of American States to frame a Bill of Rights." He had indeed been working towards this for two years, as may be seen in his letters to Arthur Lee, in 1771, in which he suggests an annual meeting of deputies from all the Colonies. "This is a sudden thought," he says, "and drops undigested from my pen." "I have long been of opinion that America herself, under God, must finally work out her own salvation."

While engaged in spreading this sentiment as widely as possible, Adams was also busy with his fellow-patriots mak-

ing arrangements for the proper reception of the "detested tea." The consignees were cautioned in advance by the "Liberty Tree" committee. The clubs and newspapers were of one mind on the subject. Numerous town meetings were held, first in Faneuil Hall and then in the Old South, at which it was unanimously determined, upon Adams's motion, that the tea should be sent back and that no duty should be paid upon it. It was a difficult matter to convince the authorities that this vote of the town was imperative. Everything was done by the leaders in the way of warning, personal visitation and reasonable delays, to facilitate the execution of the people's order, but official obstructions prevented up to the very last day before the ships would be subject to confiscation. That was the memorable Thursday, the sixteenth of December—that day of days in Boston history—when the largest town meeting that was ever held, numbering, it is said, seven thousand men, filled the Old South and all its approaches. The deliberations of the morning were adjourned to three o'clock to allow time for Rotch, the owner of the "Dartmouth," who had been refused a clearance at the Custom House, to obtain the necessary sailing-permit of the Governor, then at his country-seat in Milton. The afternoon session was prolonged for hours waiting for the merchant's return. Addresses were made by Adams, Young, Quincy and others, and the vote was taken again, and without a dissenting voice, that the tea should in no case be landed. "Who knows," said Rowe, "how tea will mingle with salt water?" a remark which elicited loud applause. We cannot but respect the patience of such a gathering, and the restraining influence exercised by the leaders at this critical juncture. Night is drawing on. The speeches have all been made, and now there are long intervals of silence. Only a few faces can be distinguished in the dim candle-light. In the pulpit sits Samuel Adams, the moderator, whose presence there is enough to control any assembly on any occasion. Some in that company—perhaps not many—are in the well-kept secret which is likely soon to astonish

the town. Others not far away—a dauntless band—are holding themselves in readiness for the signal. And yet all is quiet, profoundly quiet.

At last, about six o'clock, Rotch appeared and reported that the Governor had refused the pass. Then the moderator rose and said, "This meeting can do nothing more to save the country."

Scarcely had the words fallen from his lips, when a war-whoop was heard at the door, and a band of men, disguised as Indians, swept by on their way to Griffin's wharf, followed by the crowd. The tea-ships were boarded and placed under guard, while the "braves" in the light of the moon removed the hatches, hoisted the chests upon deck, and emptied all their contents into the sea. There was no resistance, no noise, no exultation. When the work was done, they all retired quietly to their homes, and by ten o'clock that night a Sabbath stillness prevailed throughout the town.

"I think we have put our enemies in the wrong," wrote Adams a few days after, "and they must in the judgment of rational men be answerable for the destruction of the tea which their own obduracy had rendered necessary. Notwithstanding what your Tories have given out, the people here are universally pleased, excepting the disconcerted Hutchinson and his few, very few adherents." A little later he added: "It is our duty at all hazards to preserve the public liberty. Righteous Heaven will graciously smile on every manly and rational attempt to secure the best of all His gifts to man from the ravishing hand of lawless and brutal power."¹

The little town hardly knew what vials of wrath it was opening upon its own head. Parliamentary vengeance was swift and sure. Acts were passed closing the port of Boston, changing the constitution of the Province, and authorizing the Governor to bring to punishment the leaders of the movement, chief of whom was Samuel Adams. General

¹ From original letters to James Warren, of Plymouth, dated Dec. 28, 1773, and March 31, 1774, now in the possession of Winslow Warren, Esq.

Gage with a large military force was now ordered to succeed Hutchinson, whose authority had gradually dwindled away. Rigorous measures were everywhere enforced, and much suffering ensued from the loss of trade. But this only nerved the hearts of patriots in all the Colonies, and brought them together in the bonds of sympathy as never before.

Circular letters, drafted by Adams and submitted by the Boston Committee, were carried by Paul Revere to New York and Philadelphia, conveying a loud and eloquent appeal to the country. Responses came back in quick succession from towns and legislatures, pledging their support to the "common cause."

An opportunity for the full expression of this sentiment was soon given by the meeting of the first Congress at Philadelphia, in September, 1774,—a meeting proposed by Adams, in the General Court at Salem, in June. Fifty-five delegates met for the first time in one body, to act for the country at large. It was felt to be a momentous occasion, and many were not without grave apprehensions as to the results. After the organization it was proposed that Congress should open with prayer; but objection was made by Jay and Rutledge, on account of the diversity of religious views among the members. This moved Samuel Adams to rise and say that "he was no bigot and could hear a prayer from a gentleman of piety and virtue who was at the same time a friend to his country. He was a stranger in Philadelphia, but had heard that Mr. Duché," an Episcopal clergyman resident there, deserved that character. He therefore moved that Mr. Duché be invited to officiate on the following morning. The motion was carried, and the "first prayer in Congress" became a subject of universal interest, touching the hearts of those who heard it, and by its patriotic petitions serving as a symbol of that political union towards which the country was rapidly tending.

But it was conciliation and not yet independence that was talked of in this body. The members were divided into two parties, but not even the party of liberty contemplated so

radical a project as separation. Adams knew this, and was too wise to force his policy prematurely. He therefore contented himself with general measures in which all could join. Thus he escaped needless controversy, and at the same time employed the energies of his mind in preparing the way for united counsels when the real question should arise. That he was not idle we learn from Galloway, the Loyalist member, who wrote of him: "He eats little, drinks little, sleeps little, thinks much, and is most decisive and indefatigable in the pursuit of his objects."

The operation of the Port Act had given Mr. Adams much anxiety lest it should provoke to deeds of violence, and so bring on a premature conflict, which he deprecated as much as he did submission itself. This feeling found expression in a letter to James Warren: "I beseech you to implore every friend in Boston, by everything dear and sacred to men of sense and virtue, to avoid blood and tumult. They will have time enough to die. Let them give the other provinces opportunity to think and resolve. Rash spirits that would by their impetuosity involve us in unsurmountable difficulties will be left to perish by themselves . . . Nothing can ruin us but our violence. Reason teaches this . . . These are the sentiments of a man who, you know, my dear sir, loves the people of Boston and that government with the tenderness of a brother."¹

On returning to Massachusetts at the close of the session, Adams found more work than ever awaiting him in the proceedings of the Provincial Congress, which, in his absence, had superseded the General Court. Boston was now blockaded and bristling with arms. His first endeavor, as chairman of his committee, was to warn the people of the rapidly increasing dangers that surrounded them, and to recommend immediate military preparations. "Our safety," he says, in a letter to Arthur Lee, "depends upon our being in readiness for the extreme event. Of this the people here are thoroughly

¹ From the Winslow Warren collection.

sensible, and from the preparations they are making, I trust in God they will defend their liberties with dignity."

March comes round, and with it the usual commemoration of the "horrid massacre." Warren gives the oration in the Old South, and Adams again appears as moderator, in the pulpit which is heavily draped for the occasion. About forty British officers are sitting in the front pews and on the pulpit stairs. One of them holds up a handful of bullets directly under the orator's eye. Warren quietly drops his handkerchief upon them without pausing in his discourse. Several attempts are made to disturb the meeting by groans and hisses, but order is maintained by the moderator, through whose efforts a collision, for which all the elements are present, is happily averted. The air, however, was now so heavily charged with war that an outbreak was likely to occur at any time. So Adams thought, and so he was continually saying. It came sooner than many expected, but it was no surprise to him. He could even exult over the scene on Lexington Common, as from the neighboring hill he saw the glistening bayonets and heard the deadly fire. "What a glorious morning for America!" he exclaimed to Hancock, as if with prophetic vision he saw the veil removed, and the independence of his country portrayed in the sunlight of its new-born glory.¹

But his long cherished hopes were not yet to be realized. The people everywhere flew to arms upon the instant, showing a bold and united front, although they still looked for concessions as soon as England should see that they were in earnest. So general was this feeling that the question of independence was not so much as raised at Philadelphia during the next session of Congress. Even John Adams and Jefferson, Franklin and Washington were not in favor of it. They all dreaded the idea of cutting loose from the parent country, and they naturally shrank from the task of creating an en-

¹ After the adjournment of the Provincial Congress at Concord, April 15, Adams and Hancock were spending a few days in Lexington with the Rev. Jonas Clark, a relative of Hancock's,

and an ardent patriot, whose house indeed had often been a resort of the leaders in council when they sought that privacy which British espionage rendered insecure in Boston.

tirely new government. But Samuel Adams saw that the nineteenth of April had put an end to British rule in the colonies, and in every possible way he urged the assertion of the fact. "Is not America already independent?" he wrote to Dr. Cooper; "Why then not declare it? . . . Can nations at war be said to be dependent, either upon the other? I ask you again, why not declare for independence?"¹ And a little later, writing from Philadelphia to James Warren, he said: "You know my temper. Perhaps I may be too impatient. I have long wished for the determination of some momentous questions. If delay shall prove mischievous, I shall have no reason to reflect upon myself. Every one here knows what my sentiments have been."²

The same combination of patience and energy and tact, by which Adams had invariably carried the Boston town-meeting, came to his support in Congress, bringing round one and another to his way of thinking, until at last, after all the vexatious hindrances and repeated postponements, the immortal Declaration was given to the world, crowning with a nation's approval what must ever be regarded as the greatest life-work of Samuel Adams. As his distinguished kinsman said of him, "he was born and tempered a wedge of steel to split the knot of *lignum-vitæ* which tied North America to Great Britain." If he had done nothing else, his champion-ship of the doctrine of independence through all its stages would have entitled him to the lasting gratitude of his country-men. For this, if for no other service, as George Clymer truly said, "all good Americans should erect a statue to him in their hearts."

For seven years, Adams remained in Congress, actively engaged in its absorbing work. Many of its greatest measures were framed by his wisdom and carried by his indefatigable exertions. His name appears on almost all the prominent committees, and often as the chairman. He seconded the motion of John Adams appointing Washington General-in-chief of the army. He urged the building of a navy. He favored

¹ Wells, II. 393.

² From the Winslow Warren Collection.

long enlistments. He advocated an early representation at foreign courts, and was pleased with the prospect of a French alliance. In the gloomiest days of the war, when a succession of reverses had followed the American arms, and when many hearts were filled with fear, Adams was calm and cheerful. "A patriot," he said, "may grieve at the distress of his country, but he will never despair. . . . Our affairs, it is said, are desperate. If this be our language, they are indeed. . . . If we despond, public confidence is destroyed. But we are not driven to such narrow straits. . . . Our burdens, though grievous, can be borne. Our losses, though great, can be retrieved. Through the darkness which shrouds our prospects, the ark of safety is visible. . . . We have appealed to Heaven for the justice of our cause, and in Heaven have we placed our trust. . . . In the gloomy period of adversity we have had our 'cloud by day and pillar of fire by night.' We have been reduced to distress; and the arm of Omnipotence has raised us up. Let us still rely in humble confidence on Him who is mighty to save."

During his long term of congressional service Mr. Adams was also called to fill various responsible positions at home. Some of the time he held as many as six important offices at once, being Secretary of State for Massachusetts, member of the Council, representative in the Legislature, delegate to the State Constitutional Convention,¹ and member of the Board of War. Upon the ratification of the articles of confederation, in 1781, he retired from Congress, and again took up his residence in Boston. His house in Purchase Street had been rendered uninhabitable by the British during their occupation, and his family had lived with friends at Dedham and Cambridge.²

¹ It is said that the Constitution of Massachusetts bears marks of greater deliberation and study than that of any other State. One can easily trace Adams's thought and language in many of its phrases.

² After the evacuation, the Adams family lived for a period, it is said, in the confiscated mansion of Governor Hutchinson in Garden Court St. See James

S. Loring's MS. paper read before the N. E. Hist. Gen. Soc. 1856. If this is true, it is a very suggestive fact, in the turn of fortune's wheel, that the roof of the chief Tory should so soon have covered the "Chief Incendiary." Wells states (III. 52, 135-6) that the confiscated house of Robert Hallowell was obtained by Adams from the Legislature at a nominal rent for some years.

Without any home of his own, he now lived for a while in a confiscated house in very straitened circumstances. So closely had he given himself to his country's cause that he had never been able to earn anything more than the merest livelihood. Often his income did not exceed one hundred pounds a year. When he went to Congress, his friends in their thoughtfulness gave him a suitable outfit. After the battle of Lexington, all his effects being in Boston, he was obliged to purchase even his clothing at the public expense.¹ Having no business or profession of his own, he never was able to lay up any resources for his family. This may be called an unpardonable neglect, but it was the only thing he neglected and perhaps the provision which he made for his country in her sorest need will be accepted as at least an equivalent for any private fortune which he might have made for himself. Surely the colossal and unrequited labors of this public servant will lead us to be charitable in our judgment of his poverty. Rarely does a politician serve so long and so well for so little. Nations do not often find their trusted statesmen so slenderly provided for. It is a singular example—one of the very few in modern history—in which riches were totally disregarded and almost despised, by one who had ample opportunities to acquire them had he chosen. It recalls the Old Testament prophets, or the disciples of our Lord, or the preaching friars of the mendicant orders, men who swayed multitudes and turned the tide of events, but who took neither scrip, nor money in their purse. Walsingham, the great minister and diplomatist of Queen Elizabeth, with the resources of a kingdom at his disposal, scorned the luxuries of the court and died a poor man. General Gordon, the hero of the world to-day, is a man of the old Sam Adams spirit—intrepid, unselfish, and utterly indifferent to worldly gain or honor. Such men, with their single-hearted devotion to a great cause, are the inspiration of the ages that come after. They fascinate and win our noblest youth, showing them that there is some-

¹ Mentioned in a letter to James Warren, specifying certain items, dated Baltimore, February 11, 1777, in the Winslow Warren collection.

thing worth living for besides money. They are a perpetual rebuke to ease and avarice and pride. Their memory is like a north-west breeze, purifying our civilization, and giving us all new hope for the future of mankind.

Mr. Adams was again twice elected to Congress, but he each time declined the honor, regarding the great victory as already won, and wishing to enjoy the retirement of private life. Yet his services were still in demand, and for several years he was President of the Massachusetts Senate and a member of the Council, devoting his time wholly to public affairs, introducing important measures, drafting State papers, consulting with committees, and, in those trying times after an exhausting war, supporting in every way the local and national authority. During Shays's rebellion he did all in his power to sustain the hands of Governor Bowdoin, and when it was intimated by lawless agitators that his own example was in favor of their cause, he declared, in no unmistakable language, that he "meant not license when he cried liberty." He inclined to a conservative policy now that the foundations of the law were established in justice and equity. Notwithstanding the high honors which he had earned, he never forgot the arena of his early triumphs—the town-meeting—which he still loved to attend, and over which he was generally chosen to preside as moderator.

In 1788, Mr. Adams was one of the twelve representatives to the convention called by Massachusetts to adopt the Federal Constitution, and the first motion, after the organization, was made by him, "That the Convention would attend morning prayers daily, and that the gentlemen of the clergy of every denomination be requested to officiate in turn." We see in this the same liberal and devout spirit which had so successfully harmonized the councils of the first Congress. There has long been a common error, into which many writers have fallen, that Samuel Adams was opposed to the Federal Constitution. Referring to this, Mr. Bancroft has recently said,¹ that Adams "never was opposed to the Constitution. He

¹ In a private letter to Professor Hosmer.

only waited to make up his mind." He studied it with his customary caution, and sought to guard the State against the possibility of surrendering too much to the General Government, especially to the Federal Executive and the Judiciary. Adams was consistent in this. He always, to the day of his death, believed in a pure democracy, and opposed the tendency towards centralization. He was afraid of conferring power, where the people themselves or their most immediate representatives could not control it. He had taken the same position in Congress when the departments of government were created with secretaries at their head. No doubt his view of a national administration was too limited for the growth of a continent, and his fear of encroachments upon popular liberty was extreme; but, after a century of trial, it still remains a question whether good government is not often imperilled by such vast powers as are granted to our high officials. Mr. Adams, however, let it be remembered, did not oppose the Constitution. He discussed it freely, proposed amendments, listened to the arguments of others, and counselled delay in view of the great importance of the instrument; but when at last it came to be ratified, he not only favored it, but had more influence than any other man in carrying it through the convention, and recommending it to the other States.

At this time Mr. Adams met with a severe loss, in the death of his only son, Dr. Samuel Adams, who had done honorable service for his country as a surgeon through the Revolutionary War. His unpaid claims were bequeathed to his father, and afterwards redeemed by the Government, so that Mr. Adams, by a wise investment of the proceeds, was placed above want during the rest of his life.

For four years in succession he was elected Lieutenant Governor on the ticket headed by Hancock. This gave great satisfaction to the public, as these foremost names in Massachusetts had been historically associated together in so many positions. Both had been necessary factors in the pre-revolutionary days; and although, like Goethe and Schiller, very different from each other in respect to age, ability, fortune,

and style of living, they had stood together as fellow-patriots¹ —*par nobile fratrum*—in the most critical period of the movement with which their names will forever be identified. By excepting these two names in the general offer of pardon made in 1775, Gage showed his power of discrimination, but he could not have conferred more honor upon the men whom he sought thus to degrade, for it was a recognition of their unequalled services to the cause of liberty, and it gave them at once a popularity accorded to no other person.

The estrangement which had grown up between these chiefs in later years, causing wide-spread regret and much disturbance in local politics, was now removed, and the two familiar names were again united year after year, in the mouths of the people, as they ever will be in the history of the State.

On the death of Hancock in 1793, Adams assumed the executive chair, and was annually elected governor as long as he consented to be a candidate. His addresses to the Legislature were characterized by the same vigorous and patriotic spirit as ever, and his administration was dignified and benevolent. He did not hesitate to express his solicitude for the preservation of those fundamental principles of popular government which he regarded as the only security of the nation's happiness and peace. He did not escape the enmity which party-strife engendered in the contest which he carried on with the Federalists. He had opposed the centralizing and aristocratic tendencies which they represented, and he did not cease to advocate a simpler and purer mode of life than that which was becoming prevalent in society around him. The increase of wealth and its attendant luxuries, with a gradual laxity in morals and religion, seemed to him to threaten the permanence of republican institutions. Whether his misgivings were wholly justified at the time may be an open question; but there can be no doubt that the danger which he indicated with fearless fidelity, is a danger which history has repeatedly taught, and one against which our country in its growth needs to be continually on its guard.

¹ The Lexington Memorial Hall has Thomas Gould, standing near that of a statue of Hancock in marble, by Samuel Adams already referred to.

On the twentieth anniversary of American Independence, Governor Adams laid the corner stone of the present State House with imposing ceremonies, assisted by Paul Revere, who represented the Masonic fraternity.

In 1797, feeling the infirmities of age, the Governor withdrew from public life, after a career of more than half a century of uninterrupted service in the cause of his country. For several years he now enjoyed the seclusion of his home in Winter Street,¹ receiving the kind attentions of his beloved wife and daughter, and honored by a large circle of acquaintances. In the summer time he was often seen sitting at his door or walking in his garden, clad in cap and gown. He sometimes visited the public schools, in which he had always taken the deepest interest.² The scholars, it is said, knew him well, and were always delighted to see his benignant face on the street or in the school-room.

Upon the accession of Jefferson to the presidency in 1801, that leader of the Democracy wrote a cordial letter to Mr. Adams, with whom he had long had the most intimate personal and political relations. "How much," he said, "I lament that time has deprived me of your aid. It would have been, a day of glory which should have called you to the first office of the administration. But give us your counsel, my friend, and give us your blessing; and be assured that there exists not in the heart of man a more faithful esteem than mine to you."

The last writing of Mr. Adams, known to exist, was a defence of christian truth in a letter to Thomas Paine, urging him, as a friend of liberty, not to excite the spirit of discord by his attacks upon Christianity.

¹ A large old-fashioned wooden house, nearly opposite the present entrance to Music Hall. Before the Revolution it was the property of Sylvester Gardiner, the wealthy loyalist.

² In 1775, Mr. Adams wrote in a private letter, "Our ancestors laid an excellent foundation for the security of liberty by setting up, in a few years after their arrival, a public seminary of learning; and by their laws they obliged every town

consisting of a certain number of families to keep and maintain a grammar school. I should be much grieved if it should be true, as I am informed, that some of the towns have dismissed their school-master, alleging that the extraordinary expense of defending the country renders them unable to support them. I hope this inattention to the principles of our wise forefathers does not prevail." From the Winslow Warren collection.

And now the patriot's work was done. He had run his race ; he had fought the fight ; he had obtained the victory ; and, after most of his associates had passed away, he had lived to see the fair structure of liberty, whose foundations he had laid so well, rising in comely proportions, strengthened by years and enlarged by a nation's growth. The rewards of a grateful people had been laid at his feet. The crown of age and of honor was upon him ; and patiently, like the patriarch, he waited "leaning upon the top of his staff." On Sunday morning, October 2, 1803, Samuel Adams breathed his last, in the eighty-second year of his age. He was buried in the Checkley tomb in the Granary Burying-Ground, the *cortége*, escorted by the cadets and a large body of citizens, passing through the principal streets by the Old South and around the Old State House.

In tracing the career of this remarkable man, we have been continually impressed with the fact that the source of his power was in the high moral and religious qualities of his character. He was endowed with ample intellectual gifts, with an inexhaustible energy of will, with marvellous sagacity and tact, which under any circumstances would have given him a prominent place among men. But these gifts would never have made him what he was, had it not been for the presence of that guiding and controlling spirit which shaped his conduct and gave purpose and vigor to his whole life. This was perfectly well understood by his contemporaries. They followed him gladly because they trusted him implicitly. They knew him to be devout, humble, conscientious and even rigid in applying to himself the principles of godliness, and this added immense weight to the power of his example. Conscience was not merely an element of his character ; it was the chief element, holding everything else subservient to its sway, and impressing itself upon all that he said and did. He was the product of a Puritan age ; a strict Calvinist, not by tradition merely, but by severe reasoning and calm judgment ; a diligent student of the Bible, accus-

tomed to refer everything to the oracles of God; a believer in the Christian Sabbath, willing to forego all secular enjoyments that its hours might be hallowed to the purposes of rest and worship; a lover of the sanctuary, whither he always went, accompanied by his family; a priest in his house, habitually maintaining the domestic altar. Warmly attached to the faith and order of the New England churches, he always maintained that they were more friendly to republican ideas of virtue and liberty than any other. Austere he undoubtedly would seem to many, who know little of the exacting demands of a holy religion, but any one acquainted with his life can see abundant evidence of the sweetness and grace of Christian love diffusing itself in the tender relations of the home, in his treatment of the young, in his regard for the poor, in his incessant yearning for the public welfare, in his private correspondence and even in many of his official documents. When the question of slavery came up in Massachusetts, Adams advocated its abolition with his usual ardor. Just then a female slave was given to his wife. "A slave cannot live in my house," he said, when told of it. "If she comes, she must be free." She was accordingly made free, and was ever after kindly cared for in his family until her death. No one knew Samuel Adams better in the pre-revolutionary days than his observing cousin, who wrote in his diary:¹ "He is a man of refined policy, steadfast integrity, exquisite humanity, fair erudition, and obliging and engaging manners, real as well as professed piety, and a universal good character, unless it should be admitted that he is too attentive to the public, and not enough so to himself and his family."

At the age of nineteen, shortly after leaving college, it appears that young Adams joined the Church in Brattle Street,² attracted thither, perhaps, by the fame of Dr. Colman, or it

¹ John Adams, Works II. 162. For a careful study of the relation of John Adams to the Revolution, see the recent address of Judge Chamberlain before the Webster Historical Society, at its annual meeting, 1884.

² May 2, 1742, at the same time with

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Thomas Phillebrown, and William Brown. Among others who joined that year were Walter Baker, Benjamin Sampson, Thomas Stacey, James Ridgeway, Daniel Boyer, Samuel Norton, Ebenezer Messenger, Thomas Amory and John Gore.

may be through the influence of some of his young companions. His biographer does not mention the fact. Through a large part of his life, however, he attended the church in Summer Street, of which his father was one of the founders, and of which his father-in-law, Dr. Checkley, was the pastor for more than half a century. In 1789, owing to various changes that had taken place in that church, Mr. Adams, who never seems to have been an enrolled member of it, transferred his connection to the Old South, as the following letter will show:

“At a meeting of the church of Christ in Brattle-Street, Boston,
June 7, 1789,

Our brother Samuel Adams, who in the year 1742 was admitted to full communion with this church, but who, for many years past, has congregated and communed with the church in Summer Street, being desirous to enter into a more immediate connexion with the church under the pastoral care of the Rev. Mr. Joseph Eckley;

We do hereby recommend him to the charity and fellowship of the said church, as he hath always (so far as is known to us) conducted agreeably to his covenant engagements.

Attest:

PETER THACHER,
Pastor of the Church in Brattle-Street.

Boston, June 8, 1789.”

By uniting with the Old South Church, Samuel Adams returned to his ancestral home, and added his name to those of Oxenbridge Thacher, James Otis, Thomas Cushing, John Scollay, Thomas and William Dawes, Robert Treat Paine, William Phillips, and others, in the brilliant roll of revolutionary patriots who have honored this church by their personal connection with it.

We ought to preserve the memory of these men. Not one of them is as well known among us as he should be, although some of their lives have been written. If this tablet serves to call attention in any way to their public services and private worth, it will do precisely what Adams would have wished, and what he was himself always doing,—bringing his

associates into prominence, and when possible, yielding the precedence to them. The more we know of his contemporaries the more we shall know of him ; for he was emphatically a man of the times and of the people ; as Judge Sullivan truly says, in the words which you have inscribed on yonder marble, " To give his history at full length would be to give a history of the American Revolution."

In no respect is the character of Adams seen to better advantage than in his friendships. He was a true brother to those he trusted and loved. His heart clung to them with strong affection. He enjoyed their society, sought their counsel, shared their confidence, brought them into notice, and indulged the fullest expressions of feeling in his correspondence with them. This was notably true of his relations with Dr. Chauncy, Dr. Cooper, Josiah Quincy, Dr. Warren, Elbridge Gerry, Arthur and Richard Henry Lee of Virginia, James Warren, Dr. Jarvis, Governor Strong, and Judge Sullivan.

We are not surprised to learn that a figure so strongly marked encountered the hostility of his enemies. This was to be expected in the nature of things. Where was there ever an important political movement that did not create opposite views as to policy, and hard feeling as to men? And if, in this case, there seems to have been towards Mr. Adams in the latter part of his life an undeserved prejudice and neglect, it is fully accounted for by the bold stand which he conscientiously took against the popular drift in political and social life. The same courageous principle which led him in his youth to resist the royal governors led him in his age to oppose what he thought a dangerous tendency among the Federalists, and to rebuke extravagance and corruption wherever he found them. He would not have been Sam Adams if he had done otherwise. To be recreant to his sense of duty was not a sin that lay at his door. To lower his standard to meet the demands of the hour was an absolute impossibility. A clever manager he always was, but never a trimmer. He created parties ; he could not be the creature of a party. Every one knew just where to find him ; for he

was always consistent with himself. The quality which gave him a temporary unpopularity was the very quality which made him what he was throughout his long life, and which leads a grateful country to-day to erect statues and tablets to his memory.

In judging of his character, we must always remember the conditions under which it was developed and the principles which he acquired by his training. That he was strict in his religious faith, and sincere in his practice, is unquestioned. That he was also wonderfully adroit in his methods is equally well known. This naturally leads to the inquiry whether in his shrewdness he exceeded the limits of what we should call honesty to-day. I would answer this question by recalling, first, one of the elements of what is technically known as the New England character. It has always savored of shrewdness, with an inclination sometimes towards sharp practice. It has successfully contended with the world at a bargain, and has seldom been surpassed for wit or tact. That this element is deeply rooted in our character is sufficiently apparent. That it is sometimes allied with deceit is also painfully true. But as a quality, pure and simple, it is free from this charge, and must be so regarded. It admits of dexterity and strategy without incurring reproach. What is true of the New England type to which Adams belonged is true I suppose of him. Our strictures upon that type apply to him in common with many of his contemporaries and predecessors on these shores. We may improve upon it as the years advance; we certainly ought to. But our judgment of Adams must in this respect be essentially the judgment of his time and his surroundings. The other answer which may be offered to the question raised, is that in certain disguises which Adams and his compatriots adopted they were following what they considered legitimate methods under the ethics of war. If Dr. Cooper or Judge Parsons or Samuel Adams helped Hancock write his speeches or public documents—and they probably all did at one time or another—they did it, as they thought, without committing any moral offence. They did it because the liberation of their

country seemed to require it; because they were engaged in a life and death struggle, and were compelled to resort to the tactics of war. They did it just as a military commander would get the advantage of his enemy, by stratagem, by spies, by decoys, and other contrivances such as are permitted in war. The treatment which the Hutchinson letters received may be ascribed partly to this motive, and partly to the high state of excitement at the time, which gave an exaggerated coloring to everything, said or written, on either side.

This may, at least, suggest an explanation of certain ingenious and effective devices which the fathers employed when they strove to obtain their freedom. To Bernard and Hutchinson, no doubt, Adams seemed cunning enough, always on the alert, using men as tools and leading them into all kinds of mischief. But we are now learning, by a critical study of the facts, to distinguish between what Samuel Adams really was, and what his enemies represented him as being. They said he was a demagogue. We know he was not (in the sense in which that word is used). He never flattered or cajoled the people; never went among them with insinuating smiles and selfish aims; never misled them by seeming to be what he was not. His patriotism was disinterested and transparent from beginning to end.¹ He was never moved by bribery or threats. His integrity was unimpeachable. A guinea, he said, never glistened in his eyes. In his farewell address to the Legislature, referring to his country which he had served so long in war and in peace, he said: "I can say with truth that I have not enriched myself in her service." Such testimony as this is of incalculable worth to the nation. It is a legacy beyond all price. Happy is the commonwealth that inherits it. Never let it be forgotten.

It is remarkable how little this peerless man was ever influenced by those natural passions which are so prevalent in political life. One controlling passion he always had, burning like a flame,—the love of liberty; but almost every other

¹ "Your principles," said Jefferson, "have been tested in the crucible of time and have come out pure."

was trodden under foot. What did Samuel Adams care for money, or pleasure, or fame, or office, or ease? The very things that men generally covet the most he passed by altogether. This is known to be true, although it has taken time to reveal it. Much of his work was done anonymously,—written by his pen, but adopted by others, without ever a protest from him. A careful search among his papers reveals the fact (which would seem extravagant were it not proved), that every effective plan and every important paper in the political history of Massachusetts from 1765 to 1775—to go no further—was, without a single exception, invented and framed by him. And yet so modest was he, that the world never knew it all in his day. Such disregard for the honors of authorship is almost unparalleled. He wrote popular essays for the press over a great variety of signatures. No less than twenty-five different names have been discovered as his. He destroyed a vast number of his own writings, and many more were lost after his death, but the collection in Mr. Bancroft's hands is very large and very convincing upon this point. The drafts of the principal resolves, remonstrances and appeals, for town and assembly alike, are all in his handwriting. And the official correspondence during that time was wholly his work.¹ It is estimated that these productions would fill sixteen large printed octavo volumes.

His style was always clear and forcible, formed on the purest classical and English models, with a nervous vigor all his own. Whether written or spoken, his language was wonderfully adapted to reach the popular mind. His speeches were usually short; never rapid in their delivery.

These services give Adams the fullest claim to be regarded not only as a politician, marshalling the political forces with consummate skill, but also, as Senator Hoar has said,² as a philosopher, establishing fundamental principles, and as a

¹ He is acknowledged to have been the ablest and most voluminous writer on American politics in the last century. Indeed his state papers form a most important part of our literature for that period. The Revolution would be an

enigma without them. Chatham's opinion of them has been often quoted.

² In his address at the reception by Congress of the Massachusetts Statues in the Capitol at Washington, Dec. 19, 1876.

statesman, framing great measures, filling responsible positions, and guiding legislative assemblies. "I doubt," said the lamented Garfield,¹ speaking of Adams's political and religious position, "if any man equalled Samuel Adams in formulating and uttering the fierce, clear and inexorable logic of the Revolution. . . . The men who pointed out the pathway to freedom by the light of religion as well as of law, were the foremost promoters of American independence. And of these, Adams was unquestionably chief."

In all his tastes and habits Mr. Adams was a model of republican simplicity. Indifferent to wealth and fame, he was also above the temptations of luxury and ease. He never outgrew the practice of his youth in this respect. His table, his dress, his manners were always plain, though never lacking proper attention and refinement. He had no fancy for display. When he became Governor, his friends gave him a carriage and a pair of horses, but he seldom used them, and, on retiring from office, he returned them to the donors. He studied economy from principle as well as necessity, avoiding when possible all appearance of ostentation or extravagance. He did all he could to make his beloved Boston "a Christian Sparta."

In person² Samuel Adams was of medium height and very erect, of muscular form, florid complexion, light blue, penetrating eyes, and heavy eye-brows. At the age of forty-eight his hair was already gray, giving him a venerable appearance. His countenance was strikingly open and benignant, full of expression, combining the qualities of serenity and firmness. He is said to have resembled William of Orange. His appearance was always dignified and manly. At times there was a slight constitutional tremulous motion of the head and hand, which added impressiveness to his speech. Among strangers he was usually reserved, but in his family and among his friends he laid aside the cares of public life and

¹ At the reception of the Massachusetts Statues at Washington.

² The portrait by Johnston, painted in 1795, was unfortunately destroyed by

fire. The engravings from it give Mr. Adams a very genial and dignified appearance, quite in accordance with the descriptions of him by his friends.

participated freely in ordinary conversation. At such times, he was cheerful and responsive, full of sympathy, fond of anecdote, and keenly alive to any rational sentiment of wit or humor. His voice was uncommonly musical, and nothing gave him greater pleasure than the practice of singing at home. In dress, he retained the colonial style of the tie-wig, cocked hat, knee breeches, buckled shoes and dark red cloak.

Samuel Adams left no descendants bearing his name, but as "the Father of the Revolution" he has given us our independence; and we may safely trust the Republic which enshrines it, to perpetuate his name and keep alive the memory of his masterly leadership, his incorruptible virtue and his undying love of liberty.

L. of C.

SAMUEL ADAMS,

BORN IN BOSTON, SEPTEMBER 16, 1722.

GRADUATED AT HARVARD COLLEGE, 1740.

JOINS THE CHURCH, 1742.

TAKES HIS MASTER'S DEGREE, 1743.

Follows mercantile business a few years.

ORGANIZES A POLITICAL CLUB AND NEWSPAPER, 1747-48.

MARRIED TO ELIZABETH CHECKLEY, OCTOBER 17, 1749.

His wife dies, July 25, 1757.

COLLECTOR OF TAXES, 1763-65.

— 1764 —

DRAFTS THE BOSTON INSTRUCTIONS.

Proposes a union of the Colonies in opposition to Parliament.

MARRIES HIS SECOND WIFE, ELIZABETH WELLS, DECEMBER 6.

MEMBER OF THE LEGISLATURE, 1765-74.

— 1765 —

WRITES THE MASSACHUSETTS RESOLVES.

INSTRUCTS THE PROVINCIAL AGENT IN LONDON.

CONDUCTS A CONTROVERSY WITH THE GOVERNOR, 1766.

— 1768 —

WRITES THE ASSEMBLY'S ADDRESSES TO THE MINISTRY,

THEIR PETITION TO THE KING,

and Circular Letter to the other Colonies.

DECLARES FOR INDEPENDENCE.

Writes "An Appeal to the World," 1769.

DEMANDS THE REMOVAL OF THE TROOPS, 1770.

— 1772 —

PROPOSES THE COMMITTEE OF CORRESPONDENCE.

Author of "The Rights of the Colonists."

— 1773 —

CALLS FOR A CONTINENTAL CONGRESS.

OPPOSES LANDING OF THE TEA.

Drafts an Appeal to the other Assemblies, 1774.

MEMBER OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS, 1774-81.

— 1775 —

MEMBER OF THE PROVINCIAL CONGRESS.

SECRETARY OF STATE.

COUNCILLOR.

SIGNS THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 1776.

MEMBER OF THE BOARD OF WAR, 1777.

MEMBER OF THE STATE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION, 1779.

Marriage of his daughter, 1781.

PRESIDENT OF THE MASSACHUSETTS SENATE, 1781-84.

SENATOR, 1786.

PRESIDENT OF THE SENATE, AND COUNCILLOR, 1787.

— 1788 —

Member of the Convention to adopt the Federal Constitution.

Death of his son, January 17.

LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR, 1789-93.

GOVERNOR, 1793-97.

Dies, October 2, 1803, in his eighty-second year. Committed to the Checkley Tomb, in the Granary Burial Ground.





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